

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 KINSHA 01126 091511Z

46

ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

AID-05 PC-01 OMB-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 EB-07

TRSE-00 CIEP-01 FRB-03 IO-11 ARA-06 SAM-01 ACDA-05

/100 W

----- 119771

O R 091408Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6402

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA

AMEMBASSY KIGALI

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY LOURENCO MARQUES

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMCONSUL CAPETOWN

AMEMBASSY BANGUI

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

C O N F I D E N T I A L KINSHASA 1126

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CG

SUBJECT: PRELIMINARY LOOK AT THE GOVERNMENT RESHUFFLE

REF: KINSHASA 1025, 1045

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 KINSHA 01126 091511Z

1. SUMMARY: THE RECENT CHANGES IN THE CABINET AND THE POLITICAL BUREAU SEEM TO US TO BE THE RESULTS OF FOUR FACTORS: THE IMPENDING IMF REFORM PROGRAM; ANGOLA; CORRUPTION; AND GENERAL ORGANIZATIONAL PROBLEMS WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT. AS IN THE PAST, MOBUTU RECOGNIZED THAT FUNDAMENTAL POWER AND ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS HAD CHANGED, OR WERE ABOUT TO CHANGE, AND HE FELT THE MOUNTING PRESSURES OF CRITICISM FROM ELITE GROUPS AND THE POPULACE, AIMED BOTH AT HIS POLICIES AND AT CORRUPTION. THUS THE GOVERNMENT RE-SHUFFLE SHOULD BE SEEN AS AN ADMISSION OF ERROR, AN ADAPTATION TO CHANGE AND--NOT LEAST--A CALL FOR RECOGNITION OF HARD REALITIES. END SUMMARY

2. THE IMPENDING IMF STABILIZATION PROGRAM WILL REQUIRE SIGNIFICANT SACRIFICES BY BOTH THE GOVERNMENT AND THE URBAN POPULATION. IT WILL MEAN, OR SHOULD MEAN, A REAL SHIFT IN PRIORITIES, AWAY FROM A LARGE NUMBER OF MAJOR INDUSTRIAL AND PRESTIGE PROJECTS TOWARD THE BARE NECESSITIES. THERE WILL BE A DEVALUATION. FROM MUBUTU'S VIEWPOINT, THIS ALL MEANS A PULL-BACK FROM HIS OFT-PROMISED DREAM OF INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS, AT LEAST ON THE SHORT RUN. AND, AS HE HAS DONE BEFORE WHEN FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IS IN THE WIND, MOBUTU SHAKES UP HIS GOVERNING ELITE TO PREPARE FOR COMING REFORM./

3. WE HAVE REPORTED SEPARATELY ON THE SERIES OF INDICATIONS THAT MOBUTU MAY BE ON THE VERGE OF WORKING OUT A MODUS VIVENDI WITH THE MPLA. WHETHER THAT PANS OUT OR NOT IN THE SHORT TERM, IT IS CLEAR THAT THE BASIC POWER RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ZAIRE AND ANGOLA HAS SHIFTED TOWARD THE MPLA. MOBUTU IS A REALIST, AND IF HIS PRAGMATISM IS TO BE TRANSLATED INTO A FOREIGN POLICY SHIFT, THEN IT IS IN CHARACTER TO PRECEDE THIS WITH A CHANGE IN THE FOREIGN MINISTRY. EX FONMIN BULA'S TRANSFER TO THE MINISTRY OF ORIENTATION (INFORMATION & PROPAGANDA) DOES NOT MEAN THAT HE MADE MISTAKES, BUT RATHER THAT HE IS TOO CLOSELY AND PUBLICLY ASSOCIATED WITH MOBUTU'S HARD-LINE DIPLOMACY AGAINST THE MPLA AND THE SOVIETS/CUBANS. THE NEW FOREIGN MINISTER, NGUZA KARL-I-BOND,--NOW IN WASHINGTON TO ELICIT FURTHER ASSISTANCE FROM THE US--IS ALSO ASSOCIATED WITH MOBUTU'S RECENT FOREIGN POLICY, BUT THE VERY CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 KINSHA 01126 091511Z

FACT OF CHANGE IN FOREIGN MINISTERS GIVES MOBUTU SOME ELBOW ROOM IF HE WANTS TO USE IT.

4. ANGOLA MAY HAVE BEEN AT THE ROOT OF THE SHAKE-UP IN OTHER WAYS AS WELL. ONE EXCELLENT LOCAL SOURCE SAYS THAT A FACTION OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU, LED BY NZONDOMIO--REPORTEDLY SUPPORTED BY GENERAL MOLONGYA -- OPPOSED DIRECT ZAIRIAN INVOLVEMENT IN THE ANGOLAN AFFAIR. IN

FACT, NZONDONIO WAS REMOVED FROM THE POLITICAL BUREAU AND MOLONGYA HAS BEEN SHIFTED FROM THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE TO THE MINISTRY OF MINES. HERE THE STORY BECOMES COMPLICATED BECAUSE IT IS ALSO RUMORED THAT MOLONGYA WAS SHIFTED BECAUSE HE WAS TOO CLOSELY IDENTIFIED WITH THE NORTH KOREANS-- WHO HAVE LEFT ZAIRE IN THE LURCH, WITH UNSOPHISTICATED ARMS AND A POORLY-TRAINED DIVISION. WE EXPECT TO SEE FURTHER CHANGES WITHIN THE TOP MILITARY HIERARCHY WHICH, WE SUSPECT, WILL BE DESIGNED TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT FAZ'S WEAKNESSES WHICH ANGOLA HAS BROUGHT INTO FOCUS AND TO BETTER COPE WITH UNHAPPINESS WITHIN THE RANKS WHICH COULD BECOME MORE SERIOUS AS PROSPECTIVE ECONOMIC/FINANCIAL REFORMS FORCE FURTHER BELT-TIGHTENING.

5. GENERAL MOLONGYA IS ALSO ACCUSED BY SOME OF CORRUPTION, AND THIS GENERAL ISSUE OF DIPPING INTO THE PUBLIC TILL IS PROBABLY ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTORS LEADING TO THE RE-SHUFFLE. WHEN MOBUTU ANNOUNCED HIS "RADICALIZATION" MEASURES IN DECEMBER OF 1974 -- ACCOMPANIED BY A GOVERNMENT SHAKEUP -- HE ALSO REMOVED HIS FELLOW TRIBESMEN, THE INFAMOUSLY CORRUPT EKETEBI. AT THAT TIME, AS NOW, POPULAR AND ELITE CRITICISM OF CORRUPTION REACHED SIGNIFICANT PROPORTIONS AND MOBUTU GOT MESSAGE THAT HE'D BETTER GET RID OF THE MORE FLAGRANT PERPETRATORS. WE DOUBT THAT THE RE-SHUFFLE WILL CHANGE THE FACT OR DEGREE OF CORRUPTION IN ZAIRE, NOW ANY MORE THAN IT DID THEN, AND WE WONDER IF THE CRITICS WILL BE SATISFIED WITH THE SACRIFICE OF A FEW SCAPGOATS.

6. LASTLY, THERE WAS THE RECOGNIZED NEED TO REFORM AND IMPROVE CERTAIN MINISTRIES AND GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONS IN GENERAL. WE KNOW, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT BISENGIMANA WAS VERY UNHAPPY WITH THE INEFFICIENCY OF THE FOREIGN MINISTRY
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 KINSHA 01126 091511Z

AND SEE THE REMOVAL OF DIRECTOR GENERAL BAGBENI AS A DIRECT REFLECTION OF HIS DISPLEASURE. AND THE GOVERNMENT CONTROLLED PRESS HAS MADE MUCH OF THE FACT THAT INDIVIDUAL POLITICAL BUREAU MEMBERS WILL HENCEFORTH BE MADE RESPONSIBLE FOR GIVEN SECTORS OF THE ECONOMY AND GOVERNMENT. AGAIN, WE DOUBT THAT THE POLITICAL BUREAU REORGANIZATION WILL HAVE MUCH OF AN IMPACT ON DAY TO DAY ADMINISTRATION BUT WE APPLAUD THE INTENT.

7. WHAT WE ARE WATCHING NOW, IN A WORD, IS A SUPREMELY PRAGMATIC LEADER IN THE PROCESS OF ACCOMMODATION TO A SHIFT IN THE BALANCE OF POWER IN CENTRAL AFRICA AND TO REAL ECONOMIC AND POTENTIAL POLITICAL PROBLEMS AT HOME. MOBUTU IS USING THE METHODS THAT HAVE STOOD HIM WELL IN THE PAST: ADMIT ERROR, SIGNAL CHANGE, PROMISE

PROGRESS, CALL FOR SACRIFICE. THE DIFFERENCE THIS
TIME, HOWEVER, IS THAT THE PROBLEMS NOW FACED
BOTH EXTERNALLY AND AT HOME ARE MORE SERIOUS THAN THOSE
HE HAS HAD TO FACE IN RECENT YEARS.
CUTLER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: GOVERNMENT PERSONNEL, REORGANIZATIONS, PERSONNEL MOVEMENTS, INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 09 FEB 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ShawDG
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976KINSHA01126
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760048-0894
From: KINSHASA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760268/aaaacibt.tel
Line Count: 174
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION AF
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 KINSHASA 1025
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ShawDG
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 30 MAR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <30 MAR 2004 by greeneet>; APPROVED <29 JUL 2004 by ShawDG>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PRELIMINARY LOOK AT THE GOVERNMENT RESHUFFLE
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, CG
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006